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E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, BR

SUBJECT:MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA

- 1. EMBASSY SHOULD DELIVER SOONEST THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA FROM THE SECRETARY:
- 2. BEGIN QUOTE: DEAR ANTONIO: I WILL BE LEAVING SHORTLY TO ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT FORD TO HELSINKI FOR STAGE III -- THE SUMMIT STAGE -- OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, BEFORE DEPARTURE I WISH TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF MY THOUGHTS ON THIS CONFERENCE.

AS YOU KNOW, THE STAGE III MEETINGS CULMINATE TWO YEARS OF CAREFUL NEGOTIATION SINCE TH FIRST HELSINKI MEETING OF JULY, 1973. WE BELIEVE IT SIGNIFICANT THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE TOOK PLACE, THAT IT PRODUCED AGREEMENT ON DETAILED CONFIDENTIAL

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PROVISIONS WHICH EMPHASIZE COOPERATION INSTEAD OF CON-

FRONTATION, AND THAT A DOCUMENT EMBODYING THESE RESULTS WILL NOW BE SIGNED BY THE THRITY-FIVE PARTICIPATING HEADS OF GOVERNMENT OR (IN THE CASE OF EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES) COMMUNIST PARTY HEADS. WHILE THE DOCUMENT IS NOT A TREATY OR A LEGALLY BINDING AGREEMENT, IT IS A POLITICAL STATEMENT OF INTENT SIGNED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, AND AS SUCH CAN BE EXPECTED TO CARRY CONSIDERABLE MORAL AND POLITICAL WEIGHT. CONTRARY TO MISCONCEPTIONS BY SOME COMMENTATORS, THE CSCE HAS IN NO WAY LEGALIZED THE STATUS OUO OF COMMUNIST DOMINATION IN EASTERN EUROPE. WHILE ITS PRINCIPLES INCLUDE THE SOVIET-SUPPORTED STATEMENT THAT FRONTIERS MAY NOT BE VIOLATED BY FORCE, THEY ALSO REAFFIRM THAT BORDERS MAY BE CHANGED BY PEACEFUL MEANS. NOTHING IN THE DOCUMENT CONSTITUTES RECOGNITION OF ANY PARTICULAR BORDER OR TERRITORIAL CHANGE. THE PRINCIPLES OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, NONINTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, SELF-DETERMINATION AND NON-USE OF FORCE WHICH ARE ELABORATED IN THE DOCUMENT ARE, IN FACT, COMPLETELY INCONSISTENT WITH THE SO-CALLED BREZHNEV DOCTRINE OF LIMITED SOVEREIGNTY WHICH WAS USED TO JUSTIFY THE SUPPRESSION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968. FURTHER, THE PROVISIONS COVERING FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, IDEAS AND INFORMATION INTRODUCE HUMANITARIAN VALUES INTO THE DETENTE DIALOGUE, AND SO HOLD PROMISE FOR THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE. I BELIEVE ALSO THAT THE CONSENSUS PROCEDURE OF THE CSCE HAS ENHANCED THE SENSE OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE SMALLER STATES OF EUROPE -- WESTERN, EASTERN AND NEUTRAL. SUCH NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED STATES AS FINLAND, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND AND YUGOSLAVIA PLAYED AN ACTIVE ROLE IN CONFERENCE DELIBERATIONS, AND THE SMALLER PARTIC-PANTS WERE AMONG THE MOST VOCAL SUPPORTERS OF FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS. WHICH WILL GIVE THEM A CONTINUING VOICE IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOLIDARITY OF THE NATO ALLIANCE WAS REINFORCED BY THE CLOSE COOPERATION AND COORDINATION PRACTICED BY THE "NATO CAUCUS" DURING THE CONFERENCE.

THE POSITIVE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF CSCE DOES NOT, OF COURSE, REDUCE THE NEED FOR STRONG NATO DEFENSE EFFORTS, CONFIDENTIAL

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SINCE THE WARSAW PACT CONTINUES TO STRENGTHEN ITS ARMED FORCES FAR IN EXCESS OF ITS APPARENT REQUIREMENTS FOR SELF-DEFENSE. WE LOOK TO THE MBFR AND SALT NEGOTIATIONS, NOT CSCE, FOR PROGRESS IN REDUCING THE LEVEL OF ARMED CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE. WE ARE ALSO VERY MUCH AWARE THAT THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TO DEFINE "PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE" AS THE CONTINUATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BY ALL MEANS SHORT OF WAR, AND THAT BASIC

SYSTEMIC DIFFERENCES REMAIN BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

WE THEREFORE GO TO HELSINKI WITH A REALISTIC APPRECIATION THAT MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE, CSCE IS ONLY ONE STEP IN THE PROCESS OF DETENTE. BUT I BELIEVE, ON BALANCE, THAT IT IS A POSITIVE STEP TOWARD CIVILIZING THE EAST-WEST DIALOGUE. I WELCOME YOUR COMMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS, WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER. END QUOTE. INGERSOLL

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Subject: ESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA

TAGS: PFOR, US, BR, HELSINKI, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (AZEREDO DA SILVEIRA, ANTONIO F)
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